A

MORAL ESSAY,

PREFERRING

SOLITUDE

TO PUBLICK

EMPLOYMENT,

And all it's Appanages; such as Fame, Command, Riches, Pleasures, Conversation, &c.

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2 King. 4. 13.

——*Wouldest thou be spoken for to the King, or to the Captain of the Host? And she answered, I dwell among mine own people.*

By Mr. *George M'kenzie*, Advocat.

EDINBURGH,

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TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE,

JOHN

EARL of

CRAVVFORD, &c.

My Lord,

SEing man can glory in nothing, but in that he is GOD's Image; certainly, that must be his most glorious state wherein that Image is most clearly seen, and this is solitude; wherein his composed soul (like the smooth face of the Ocean) represents, with much advantage, this glorious image which the

unequal risings of stormy and aspiring waves of ambition do exceedingly conceal. The heathen Poet Lucretius *describes the great perfections of the Deity to consist in that it is,*

— Privata dolore omni privatapericlis
Ipsa suis pollens opibus ——

And Cicero *upon this score confesses, that the Philosophers life was of all others most preferable, because of all others, it approached nearest to that of the gods. This,* my Lord, *invited me to write this Discourse in it's favours; which because I intended as a bundle of rods, for whipping such as were fondly ambitious, I did therefore strip naked of these leaves and flourishes of Eloquence, which by making them more pleasant, could not but make them less sharp. And if any tax me for sending this Book to publick view, from that* solitude *which both it and I so much commend; my answer is, That either it will convince these who read it, and then it will gratifie that* solitude *which it hath left; or else it will meet with censure and disdain,*

disdain, and then it's fate will demonstrate how dangerous it is to gaud abroad; to press which, is another of my great designs.

I intend not really to depreciate such by this Discourse as injoy Honours and Employment; that design lyes as far out of my road, as it is rais'd above my power: but I intend by it to congratulate with such as either undervalue them out of inclination, or have lost them by accident; and to discipline such unquiet humours, as like powder, do, in blowing up themselves, destroy all that is above them, or resists their violent ascent: wherein, as Politique Philosophers, by complementing the object of their complacency; So I gratifie States-men, by reclaiming such as are the ordinary object of their fears. Neither should any thing in this Discourse, which is pregnant against those Courtiers who have been rather great then good, displease such as are both good and great, more then it should displease a Gentleman of noble shapes and features, to see a Painter draw another man (though of

the

the same species with himself) under all the disadvantages that can be trac'd by a deforming Pencile.

That I should choose your Lordship for my Patron, is no act of virtue; because your condition, as it stands circumstantiat, made you almost the only person who deserv'd it at all, and altogether the person who deserv'd it most; for, being the best Pattern for solitary persons, ye were the person who deserv'd most to be the Patron of solitude *it self: especially, having obliged it so far, as to prefer it to that rival against which it now disputes for precedency, and prefer'd it, after it's adverse party had been your old acquaintance, and had offer'd to bribe you, for your suffrage, with a purse heavy enough to have weighed down a light spirit. Fear not,* my Lord, *the want of* fame *(which is the only thing that* solitude *is thought to want) For, as the heathens resembled it to a Maid, so it hath this of a coy Maid likewise, that it courts most those who seem most to undervalue it; and rarely any person admires his own servants so much,*

much, as it doth those who are strangers to it. And great men have this loss, that their superiors will not admire them, as being less then themselves; their equals will not, because they hate them; nor their inferiours, because they envy them, and do but too oft imagine that they are oppress for feeding their luxury. That famous rod which wrought so many miracles for others openly in Ægypt, did never it self flourish till it was laid up in the tabernacle, (according to their opinion, who will have both these to have been one and the same) and the Diamond ceases not to enjoy a greater lustre, though hid in the darkest corner, then those pleasing blossoms do, which the weakest breath of a storm will command down from the highest branch upon which they pearch. Fame then shall transmit your name to posterity, as the Jews did their embalm'd bodies which they preserv'd perfumed and odoriferous in secret and retired Grotts and Sepulchres; whereas it will preserve that of more publick persons, only as the Ægyptians

tians did theirs, whom by exposing to the open Sun, they kept as maximize that so black and parcht, as that it had been better they had return'd to their former ashes. But, though fame should not thus gratifie you, yet virtue (who hath so few deserving followers now, that it cannot but pile up pyramids of favours upon such as are) will recommend you to succeeding ages, both to let see that she wants not her Trophees even in this dotage of the world (wherein she is not so deform'd by age, as not to have charmes strong enough to conquer such as deserve her favour) and to engage others, by this act of gratitude, to a dependence upon her. And amongst her admirers, you, as one of her Minions, shall have still all defe-rence paid you, by

Your Lordships most humble
Servant,

SOLITUDE
prefer'd to publick EMPLOYMENT.

Generous CELADOR,

I Know that your advancement was to you, but as the being thrown up is to ſolide bodies; from which ſtate they cannot be ſo properly ſaid to fall, as to run with inclination to that beloved centre and level, from which they were at firſt rais'd. I know you made no other uſe of that height which makes others giddie, then to take from off it's loftieſt tops, a full proſpect of all theſe vanities which ſo much raviſh mean ſpirits. And your publick deportment being

thus, so exact a picture of true Virtue, I hope your retirement will be the shadowing of that noble draught.

In the confidence of this, I send you this Elogy of *Solitude*; not as Physicians send Pills, with praises to their averse Patients: for, as it were below your Stoicisme to need such; So it is above my skill, to be able to administrat the meanest remedy, to so well a complexion'd soul as yours. But I praise it to you, as we use to praise a Mistris to her enamoured Gallant, whose intimacy with her, though it far exceeds the acquaintance of the praiser, yet it breeds not in her *enamorato*, an unwillingness to hear what he already knows; complacency being oftner the product of our knowledge, then the occasion of our enquiry. In paralleling greatness and *solitude*, as to their moral advantages, I shall first make some few reflections upon the ends for which both are sought, upon the employments wherein both are exercised, and lastly upon the revenue made upon either

ther of these enjoyments, when fate or death shall force us to leave both.

Sect. 1. *The motives to both compared.*

As to the design which men propose to themselves, in pursuing Greatness and publick Employment; all will tell you, that they seek these, either to under-prop their falling families, (whose proud tops begin to bow, in homage to that mortality, which will needs one day triumph over us and ours) or else to defend themselves against some considerable enemy; or to wipe off the stains and scarres of disloyalty or prejudice. For, when opulent or great Persons undertake them, the very rabble have so much prudence, as to condemn these for mad men; when Philosophers or strong Spirits embarque in them, they say they do it to serve their Country, and not their inclinations; and flatterers pretend, that they design in these, the pleasing of their Prince, and not of their humour; so that as if all were ashamed of them, all do excuse their zeal after them: whereas, *solitude* (like a great

beauty) is courted for it self, and not for it's portion. And such as intend publick Employments, will pretend a love and design for *solitude*; and when they have attained their honours, they will still praise retirement: whereas, such as live privatly may sometimes pity, but will never seem to envy such as are in publick Employment. And not only is *solitude* courted for it self, and Greatness for some remoter end; but even Greatness and publick Employment are themselves oft (if not alwayes) design'd as subservient to *solitude*. Thus Merchants hazard drowning, and like the Sun, reel about the world, that they may gain as much as may affoord them the conveniency of a recess. For this Lawyers empty their brains, and Souldiers open their veins; and have oft nothing to sweeten their anxieties, but the remote prospect of a solacing retirement: So that *solitude* must be excellent, seing it's enemies buy it at so dear a rate. And even *Cesar* behoved to recreat himself, with

an *aliquando mihi licebit, mihi vivere,* esteeming that part of his life to belong to others, which was spent on other mens employments. And seing all aim at *solitude*, it must certainly be by as much more nobler then publick Emplyoment as the end is more noble then the means: and in this it approaches very near the nature of happiness, which is defined to be that, *to which all things tend, and which it self respects nothing yet acquireable.* But yet I must condemn these, who are at all this pains to gain *Solitude*, whom for this I esteem as unskilfull in the art of happiness, as these Navigators in *Solomons* time, were of the art of Sailing; who crused alongst so many tedious shoars for reaching the gold of *Ophir*, a journey easily to be accomplished, in far less then half the time. Happiness is not the product of such endeavours, and these are rather hinderances then helps to *Solitude.* And this remembers me of that notable answer, given by *Cineas* the philosopher to *Pyrrhus*; who when

he told him that he intended to conquer *Greece*, then *Rome*, and so all the world; askt him, why he proposed all that toil to himself? To which *Pyrrhus* answering, that he would do it, to the end he might, at his return live happily and merrily with his friends the residue of his life, *Cineas* tancing him most sharply, told him, that he might live so, and do so presently, and so needed not be at so much superfluous pains.

Man is so frail a Creature, and his imperfections are so great and many, that that can only make him be reputed excellent, which can best conceal his natural frailties: And albeit our judgements are but shallow, yet here lyes our misfortune, that we are not able to abide the test of one anothers judgement. And this is the knack, for which men who are silent and reserved, or melancholy and dumpish, are reputed wise: for we admire not what we see, but what we see not. And yet, neither melancholy nor silence serve so to skreen our infirmities

infirmities, as *ſolitude* does; ſeing ſuch as converſe in the world may be fathomed by other means then diſcourſe, and may, upon unexpected rencounters, be even provoked to that likewiſe. Wherefore it is a virtuous impoſture, and an allowable charltanry, to deſign retirement; becauſe that ſecures againſt all the inconveniences of either of theſe, by abſtracting us from the temptations of the one, and from the engines of the other: and if melancholy or ſilence poſſeſſes any thing in their nature, which can be thought excellent, certainly *ſolitude* enjoys the ſame in a more eminent meaſure, for theſe make but parcels of that noble ſtate, ſilence being but a *ſolitude* in diſcourſe, and melancholy a *ſolitude* in humour: whereas *ſolitude* is more excellent then theſe, becauſe in poſſeſſing both their advantages, it wants the aduſt, bile and jealouſneſs of melancholy, and the conſtipation of ſilence.

Except ſome volatile Heads, whoſe mercurial Complexion hath inclined

them rather to a restlesnes, then virtuous activity, and who like the wind, are nothing at all when they are not moving: and ye will find the residue of men so averse from toil and employments, that they must be either bryb'd to them by gain, or baited with honour: and the most diligent amongst active States-men will wish, that their long'd-for triumphs, or desired employments, were at a period, that they might *enjoy themselves* (for so they terme it) *in a solitary retirement*; which is that *Canaan* of rest, which like *Moses* on *Pisgah*, they see afar off, but without hopes of enjoyment: and so fond are these upon one moment of it, when enjoyed, that they will disobliege for it on-waiters, neglect their interest, and slight oft great advantages. Thus then we see, that nature, inclination and pleasure, vote all for *solitude*; and that publick Employment is unnatural in it's rise, and wearying in it's sequel, as it is dangerous (if not fatal) in it's termination.

I know that there are ſome great perſons, who like great fiſhes, never come to ſhoar till they be wounded, diſaſters, affronts and neceſſities driving them there for ſhelter, rather then choice; and this makes many think, that theſe *encomiums* given to *ſolitude*, are either contrived by Pedants, who could never reach preferments, or by degraded Courtiers, who after they have been outed of their publick Employments, harrangue againſt what they have loſt, to ſatisfie, not their reaſon, but their revenge. But, to theſe I anſwer, that *ſolitude* is by this objection prov'd to be an excellent ſtate, ſeing even the diſtreſt expect an aſyle and protection there: for diſtreſs makes us run where we may expect help; and that muſt be the ſecureſt harbour, to which the diſtreſteſt veſſels make their application. And I believe beſt theſe Elogies, which *ſolitude* gets from ſuch who know both ſtates; and becauſe ſome uſe this as a Pretext, therefore it muſt be excellent: for the excellen-

teſt

test things are only used, and can only serve as Pretexts; and that cannot but be much respected amongst men, whose very shadow can make misery pass for virtue, and make misfortunes be esteemed happiness. Yet, certainly, misfortunes may make men real Philosophers, as afflictions makes real Christians: and it is very probable, that one, who after much confidence in Court and Riches, hath been tumbled down unexpectedly, will be more really convinced of it's slipperiness and emptiness, then such as never found the effects of so much revolution. But there are many also, such as *Diocletian* and *Charles* the fifth, both Emperors, and many others, who after a compleat fruition of all Courtly success and pleasure, have taken a solemn congy of it, whilst it yet smiled upon them, and I am confident many moe would, if they did not apprehend much hazard in their retreat, from these who thought themselves injured by them in their prosperity.

In

In ballancing the employments of *Solitude*, with these of greatness, because greatness will still struggle for precedencie, I shall therefore scann first it's disadvantages; amongst which, this is one, that either publick Persons have attained to the fruition of what they design'd; and in that case, there are many wayes to make them miserable, because the substraction of any one of these many enjoyments, robs them of all the satisfaction they can enjoy in what remains. And there are but few wayes to make them happy, because little can be added to their present possessions: or, they have not attain'd to what they have projected; and then they fret more, and suffer moe disquietings, then the meanest servant whom they command. And like that man in the Parable, consider more the one lost sheep, then the ninety nine which yet remain. Did the conquest of all that the Sun sees, restrain *Alexander* from weeping, because he could conquer no more? No. For,

Sect. 2. The employments and difficultics of both compared.

Ambition

Ambition is like hunger, which though it is once satisfied, continues no longer so, then it hath for a little time prey'd upon what was at first presented to it: and like the fire, is so far from being satisfied with what is thrown into it, that it is by that new fewel, not only enabled to destroy, but likewise forc'd to seek more aliment for sustaining it's wasting rage.

These who are in publick Employment, have either many dependers, or not; if they have not, they are not satisfied: for, the scope of such is to be depended on, and the missing of this renders them more miserable, then poverty or sickness could a *Stoick*: but if they be incircled by crouds of attenders, then are they interessed, not only in maintaining their own Posts, but likewise in sustaining their numerous Clients; in whose fall, their reputation is, as in their own standing, equally interessed. And when they have been at great pains to effectuat the pretences of these their dependers, if these pretences

tences succeed, then either the pretenders whom they assist, do arrogat the succes to themselves, or their own merits: or else they think it but the price of their attendance, and so look upon it as paid before bestowed: whereas the party with whom these have to do, will ever thereafter carry the Patron at implacable malice: Or, if these pretences succeed not, then they impute it to the want of conduct, or of gratitude in these their lofty Patrons. And if any two, or moe of these dependers, should justle amongst themselves (as ordinarily falls out amongst such as are rivalls in favour) then the Grandee is divided in his resolution; and as he gains no new friend by assisting the one, So he losses an old servant by opposing the other. And when a Grandee hath spawn'd out his Estate amongst his Favourits, one of a thousand will not prove gratefull, but though all the thousand should prove gratefull to one, the ingratitude of that one will be more unpleasant, then can be repair'd by the gratitude

gratitude of all the remanent nine hundred and ninety nine.

As to their equals, such as are in publick Employment, lye under this inconvenience, that either they please them not, and these they either find, or make their enemies; or, if they endeavour to please all, then the task is either impossible, or unprofitable: impossible, because after that they have crook'd their own humour to make it fall parallel to another mans un-even fancy, then they may infantly lose their pains; when upon the same principle (of pleasing all) they indeavour to obliege one, who either is, or is believed to be, either rival, or enemy to him who was first oblieged. And is there any thing more ordinar (though nothing more unjust) then to hear, *he must either not be my friend, or that mans enemy?* This pleasing all is likewise unprofitable, because things are not valued by advantage but by propriety: and thus we value that friendship most, which is born to us solely, or in a greater mea-

measure then to others. Whereby it appears clearly, that if ye carry equally to all, ye oblige none; and if more to some then to others, ye disoblige these to whom ye carry least, which certainly (because our love is like our selves, most finit) must be the greatest part: and these who are disobliged, are more zealous in their enmity, then these who are obliged, are in their friendship. The conclusion of all, which is, that albeit the great pleasure of publick Employment is, that thereby they may oblige many to a dependance upon them, yet men gain by it moe, and more vigorous enemies, then such as are recluse do, albeit they prosuse none of their inesteemable time upon so uncertaine a purchase.

As to their Superiours, it vexes doubtless such as are at so much toyl to be high themselves, to see any yet higher then themselves, and they count as many crosses, as they do Superiours. If States-men be not at the highest pitch of favour, they fret at the vnluckinesse

of

of their own fate, and exclaim againſt their ill-faced ſtars: and if they attain to it, then they are oft jealouſed by their promotters: And *Sejanus* is loaded with more contumely by his Patron *Tiberius*, then ever he was with honours. And after that theſe ploding pates, have raiſed their deſigns to that line, that they conceive, they may juſtly admire it's noble ſtructure, and their own skill in it's contrivance; then that fabrick, upon which, for (poſſibly) their whole life, they have laid out the whole ſtock of their happineſs and expectation, may be in one moment, blown over by one word from their Prince, who is a man ſubject to his own fate, as they are to theirs: and when they perceive that the ſame Prince is thereafter forc'd to yield to his own deſtiny, they cannot but conclude, that they have been themſelves mean perſons, who was ſo eaſily deſtroyed, by one who was ſo eaſily deſtroyed himſelf. If *Parmenio* had not killed *Attalus*, or *Cleander Parmenio*, their diſobedience had been a

crime;

crime, and when they obeyed, their obedience was really a crime in them, and was hated as such by *Alexander* who commanded it: so that superiours do often tye their favourits to the observance of what is contradictory, and consequently require what is impossible.

It was nobly said, by that grand Master of Stoicisme, *Seneca*, that, *qui multa agit, sæpe se fortunæ objecit.* And publick persons are in this, like great Garrisons, which by how much the greater they are, are so much the worse to be defended, and by how much the richer they are, are so much the more stoutly assaulted. For establishing this great truth which is *unum ex mirabilibus Stoicorum*, I shall under-prop it by these two subservient conclusions; first, that seing that is only, in all the Schools of philosophers, defin'd to be morally good, which is compleat at all points; and that to be evil, which labours of the least defect: certainly it must be a great task, not only to do good, but even not to fall into the Sect. 3.

commission of evil. The second conclusion shall be, that as it is almost impossible not to slip into the committing of evil, yet our escapes are never forgot, when once committed, and not only wrong they us as to that action, but they likewise detract from all our subsequent good actions: and albeit it be very hard to do what is good, yet our good actions are most unfrequently remembred, or if they be, then they are esteemed duties, and so they bring us by that remembrance, no other advantage from men, then not to bring a tash upon us. *Marshal Biron*'s many victories, obtained by his valour, for *Henry* the fourth, *Walsteins* for the Emperour, nor *Essex*'s for Queen *Elizabeth*, did not excuse their after-treason. And *Balaams* beast (though otherwayes an Ass) could tell it's Master, *have not I ridden with thee ever since I was thine without stumbling? and yet now thou hast struck me thrice?* From all which it follows, that publick employments, because they

they obliedge a man to many actions, they therefore engage him in many misfortunes, and lay him open to much detraction. Neither doth mans misery stint it self here; but, which is worse, envy, malice and mistake, blaze us for more vitious then really we are; we commit some escapes, wherein we mistake our selves, but we are said to commit others, wherein others do but mistake us; we commit some, which are really our own transgressions, but we are said to commit others, which are but other mens imputations. Such as are in publick Employments can never want rivalls; and such as want not rivalls can never miss mis-reports; especially in our Country, where the way to preferment is so narrow, that we imagine no man can get by his neighbour, except he run over him. O! what a divine state then must *solitude* be, wherein a virtuous activity fortifies us against all these inconveniences, and begets in us a tranquillity, not conceivable by such as do not possess it.

Have ye not, my Lord, oft heard great men say, *I must do this, and assent to that, though neither the one nor the other satisfies my judgment?* Have ye not seen great men forc'd to abandon their most deserving friends, forc'd to connive at, and oft to congratulate the promotion of their greatest enemies? will they not be sometimes oblieg'd to put on a constrain'd countenance, feign an unnatural mine, and express what is diametrically opposit to their thoughts; all which are servitudes which greatness exacts from us: for every force is a yoke ty'd upon our nature; and man being more noble then brutes, because he is more free then they are, certainly what impares his freedom, destroyes his reason: and most of these restraints, as they are against nature, in being servitudes; So they are against virtue, in being opposite to what our reason would (if not over-power'd by interest or fancy) exact of us. And I should think, that the same impulse, which hurries men on

on to desire to be great, that they may be Masters, should, with far more reason carry them to be solitary: for there they are emancipat from these necessities, and have none to obey but God and nature; Masters who commands us to do nothing, but what were fit for our selves to do, albeit we were not commanded.

As these Countreys are esteemed most excellent and preferable, whose necessities are supplyed by their native commodities, pulling out of their own bosome all that their Inhabitants require; So by the same rule, *solitude* must be, by much preferable to publick Employment, seing this requires, and wants but little, but the other needs much, and is not satisfied when it gets what it needs. *Solitude* requires no avarice to maintain it's table, nor oppression to bear up it's train; it is satisfied without Coaches, Lacquies, Treasures and Embroideries: The solitary man is not vext, that others must take the door of himself, or

is able to maintain a more sumptuous table then he; he is not disquieted at the infrequency of guests, nor echoes of his equals praises, And seing great men are still disquieted at the advancement of others, they must still be unfortunate; for though they were capable to receive, yet they are not able to sustain the weight of all employments alone.

Consider these clouds which sit oft upon the countenance of men in Employments, their gate like to that of an disrudered Ship, and their discourse dis-joynted, and blown, as it were, all to pieces by their tempestuous passions; and ye will find such (many times) to differ but by an ace, from these who have Keepers at *Bedlam*: And by these disorders ye may perceive, that employment and madnes are of too near an alliance; and if the one, certainly both must be diseases, seing both have the same symptoms, and the same prognosticks. And in these distempers, how oft speak they things, which are

there-

thereafter either quarrelled openly, or at least are the seed-plot of continual heart-burnings to these at whom they aimed? But to abstract from all these accidental disadvantages, Is it not a madness for a rational Soul, for whom all the world was created, to observe nothing in this world, but whether another manages his Process well, with what harmony stricks another man's pulse, or how to brigue the favour of a Minion? Acts so extrinsick to the nature of an immaterial creature, such as the Soul, that if men got not money by these Employments, they would themselves condemn them as ridiculous. And is there any thing more ordinar, even amongst the herd of brutish busie-bodies, then to chide their friends for attending either the persons or employments of those who reward not such pains, and for so doing upbraid them as mad men? and so they are indeed. By which it is most evident, that men in employment have nothing to excuse their madness, but that they

are not madd, but for money or preferment. And is it not a shame for so noble a creature as Man, to be content to shew himself madd for any hire whatsoever?

Solitude has likewayes this advantage over publick Employment, that there is no vice commissable in *solitude*, to which men in publick lye not yet more open; whereas, there are some crimes, such as, treason, sedition, ostentation, and a whole tribe of the like nature, which retired persons can hardly commit; and though they could, yet hardly does that state admit of these temptations, which are previously necessar to the commission of them. Is there any thing more ordinar, then to hear one who is accused for deserting his friend, or party, to answer, that his office, or present designs, occasioned and required that defection? And are not men, for accomplishing their projects, tempted to betray secrets, to become rivals to their friends, and assisting to their enemies? Whereas, no

Record

Record can witneſs againſt retired perſons, that they ever either ruined their native Country, betrayed their Prince, or deſerted their Friend? At leaſt, if any in that ſtate have been tempted to the leaſt degree of any ſuch crime, certainly they had committed more, and greater villanies, if they had lived in publick, where thoſe wicked inclinations might have been ſtrengthned, by example, deſign, paſſion, revenge, or ſome ſuch temptation. And if our inclinations be ſo wild, when they are caged up in *ſolitude*, how untame will they become, when they are licenced to range abroad? He who would ſtob his Prince, who had never the occaſion to offend his remote Cell, would burn the world, if he had a deſign, to which that might be ſubſervient. Did not *Nero*, *Tiberius*, *Heliogabulus* and others, enjoy the repute of noble ſouls, before their mounting the Imperial Throne, brought them new vices, with new honours, and made them as much beyond other in their debauches, as they were in the power,

power, which fed them in that their diſſolut humour. Since then no honeſt perſon can deny, but that it were better never to have the greateſt honour, then to be ſaid by after-ages to have committed the leaſt villany: certainly the ſtate of publick Employment is ſcarce to be wiſhed for, ſeing therein men are tempted to commit the greateſt of crimes; eſpecially, ſeing theſe their eſcapes muſt be committed in publick, where they are never concealed, and but ſeldom (if ever) pardoned.

Sect. *The periods of both.*

As to the periods of both, certainly *ſolitude* hath by much the advantage: For, look over the Calendar of all theſe Heroes or Grandees who have governed Kingdoms, or were Favourites of the firſt *rate* to ſuch as did govern them; and ye will find moſt of their fates marked with the red Letters of a violent *death*, or the black Letters of *ſhame*. Ignominy overtakes, whom fate hath left undeſtroyed; and Gleans the grapes, after the other hath cut down it's vintage:

Sine

——*Sine cade, & sanguine pauci*
Descendunt Reges & sicca morte tyranni.

It is observed, that betwixt *Julius Cæsar* and *Charlemain*, thirty Roman Emperors have been slain, and many since. And I am so ashamed of the cruelty of those who are of the same *species* with my self, that I must conceal the many other murders of King's and Grandees: and as to the disgrace of others, these can hardly be sufficiently either numbered or regrated. And albeit others are not deter'd from embracing those honours under which their first owners have been crush'd upon the account, that they imagine their Predecessors ruine to have flow'd from some personal frailty or error, against which they are confident they can guard; yet certainly all should, even from this answer, conclude, that greatness must be most undesirable, seing, at least, it discovers these frailties, or tempts men to commit these errors, which thereafter occasions these ruines. Neither find we any such dangers to attend *solitude*, either

either necessarily, or by accident: So that albeit these be the misfortunes of those men, and not of the employment, yet seing these are only the misfortunes of men in employment, I see not why employment should be so desirable by men who fear misfortunes. But the truth is, it is impossible to warde against the unexpected blows which are thrust in at such, for they are so cunningly contrived by the attacquers (because of the danger of being discovered) that they are sooner felt then foreseen. Who could dis-appoint the malice of those who killed these noble Princes, *Henry* the third, and *Henry* the fourth of *France*? Who could have targetted *Buckingham* against *Feltons* thrust? And all the prudence of *Cesars* Court could not avert his massacre in the Senat, especially being contrived by his confident, *Brutus*; *Et tu fili Brute* said that great Emperour. And that which renders the suddain fall of these Heroes the more deplorable, is, that by being suddain,

it

t not only disorders their affairs and endangers their souls, but likewise so amazes their friends and followers, that they are thereby incapacitate from providing against the sequels of that fall, and are themselves (who only can help their falling friend) brought to fall with him. I have oft remarked with wonder, how ghastly the favorites of a falling Minion do look, and how astonishingly they are lookt at by their former intimats; and which is strange, not only do the enemies of a fallen Grandee insult over his misfortunes, but even these who were his former well-wishers, are (to avert the jealousie of those who occasioned his fall) necessitate to enveigh most bitterly against his memory;

Dum jacet in ripa calcemus Cesaris *hostem.*

Neither can I see how greatness can be defended against misfortunes; for ordinarly these rise from such unexpected beginnings, that none see in (or apprehend the least danger by) them: and all

all the world is not able, by conjecture, to fall upon that *medium* by which providence intends to infer their ruine. Who could have guessed, that *Mordecay*'s discovering a plot to *Ahasuerus* wherein *Haman* was not concerned, would be the mean to destroy that great Favourite? I have oft heard the friends of those who are now low, ask at such as told them of the slipperiness of favour, how could their Patron ever be destroyed? and it was impossible that could fall out during such a Government. And yet I have my self seen these men outed of all their confident expectations; a passionat expression, a rash act, a jealousie or mis-information which could not be foreseen, because then there was no bottom for such a conjecture, hath ruined oft-times such as never expected any alteration: and who can promise that they shall never drop one word in passion, act any thing without a previous deliberation, or never fall under mis-information? And which is yet worse, when mis-informations

tions are forged againſt great men: They are not acquainted by ſuch as either gives or receives them, and ſo their defence becomes impreſtable. I have heard of Favourits who have been ruined, becauſe the Queen ſaid they were handſome men, or the King thought them to excell himſelf in any thing wherein himſelf pretended to a maſterſhip: and what plodding pate could have ſtav'd off, or foreſeen theſe misfortunes? No, no.

Ludit in humanis divina prudentia rebus.

And ſeing there are many who have the courage to throw away their lives upon the revenge of a ſmall affront, or to hazard them in an open, and yet almoſt a barren robbery, why ſhould it be thought, that to ſaitsfie ſo impetuous a paſſion as Revenge, there ſhould not be ſome found who will hazard death, by giving it in the revenge of either an injury done to a Family or Nation, much more of an affront fixt upon the undertaker himſelf, in his

his honour, or entire fortune, as oft falls out?

But albeit great men and publick Ministers escape the fate of a murder or massacre, yet how is their happiness founded? is it not either upon the humour of a capricious people, if in a Commonwealth? and then how unsolid is that happiness where the foundation is so fleeting? Consider *Rome*, which, though the wisest of all Republicks, yet, upon a jealousie or a mistake, or some times out of wantonness, destroyed in an instant the most carressed, and most deserving of her Favourits. Or, upon the favour of a Prince, if in a Monarchy; and then ye must confess them oft-times subject to all the caprices of a lofty humour, licenc'd by the extent of his power, to equal his power and his humour; and entic'd, by the instigation of enemies or rivals, to stretch his humour beyond his allowed power. Why did *Solyman* the Magnificent, cut the throat of *Ibrahim Bassa* his Confident? was it not to satisfie the

the fancy of a Concubine? Or *Justinian* pull out the eyes of valiant *Belisarius*? was it not to gratifie an insolent Wife? So that a States-man lyes open, not only to the hazard of his Masters fancy, but to the passion of his Wife, his Concubines, his Favourits and Fellow-servants, and even to Fate it self, which is the most comprehensive of all dangers.

But albeit a States-man were able to escape privat revenge, and to mannage, with success, his Princes humour, and to satisfie that of his Favourits, yet he is still obnoxious to *ragione del stato*, and interest of State, by which his Prince is oft (to evite the rage of a multitude) either forc'd to object his Minion to their rage, as the head in a natural body defends it self by throwing up it's hand or arm to receive the stroak, or else he may be pull'd from the kind bosome of his unwilling Master: And of this hazard our own age affords us a lamentable instance in the person of the great Earl of *Strafford*, whom

popular fury did drag to the Scaffold; his Princes protection not being sufficient for his defence; who viewing, from that deplorable Stage, the inconstancy of Courtship and Advancement, did leave in legacie to his Son, a strait command never to aim at higher promotion then that of a Justice of Peace in his own County.

Consider likewayes how sometimes the satiety of a Prince produces the same ruine of Favourits, which is at other times the product of his cruelty. And *Comines* observes, that *Lewis* the eleventh of *France* used to say, that seing Princes did weary of Houses, Countries and other inanimat things, which could never offend them, and which no rival or enemy was at the pains to traduce, It was no wonder that they wearied of Favourits, who were subject to all these inconveniences. Princes do likewise ruine their Grandees, sometimes to satisfie their vanity, in shewing that their power is able to remove those who think they cannot fall without a miracle

miracle; and sometimes to make way to new Favourites, thinking it injustice to entail all honours upon the same persons. And, as in the body natural; So likewise in the politick, it is observable, that nature hath provided more diseases, then the best of Physicians can prevent by remedies.

To conclude this period, be pleased to conclude the unluckiness of publick Employment from this, That not only amongst rivals, one of two pretenders satisfie, by their fall, the rage of fate, but when it hath assisted the one to destroy the other, it then turns it's fury against the late victor: Thus *Pompey* and *Cesar*'s blood purpl'd equally the swords of murderers, agreeing in nothing but their destiny. *Hannibal* beats the Romans; *Scipio* beats *Hannibal*, and the Romans banish *Scipio*. *Belisarius* makes *Gilimer* King of the *Goths* ridiculous, leading him as a prisoner in his triumph; and Fate renders *Belisarius* yet more ridiculous, driving him to beg, with this

expreſſion, *beſtow but a farthing upon Belliſarius*. And it is moſt obſervable, that during our civil wars, four moſt eminent perſons, who did head contrary, as well as different parties, did all loſs both their heads, and their fortunes in the quarrel; whereas it might have been expected, that at leaſt one of the oppoſits, ſhould have worn unfadeing lawrels: and really there was more hazard in the fear, of being the one who was to be deſtroyed (for they might certainly have expected, that one of themſelves, ſhould fall) then all the grandour, which the ſurvivers, might expect, could ſufficiently requite.

And when the monarch or commonwealth, which a States-man hath long ſerved, intends either in compliance with their intereſts, or to gratifie their humour, to out their ſervant of his employment, or in order thereto to fix a crime upon him: then how can he eſcape from that tryal, or defend his right againſt that perſuit? for where the

the Judge is party, there the Law may prove Advocat. And in these *contrasto's*, I remember few dicisions, amongst all who have collected them, of any subject, who came off with honour.

Seing as of all other things, so of our thoughts the first-born should be sacrificed to our almighty Maker; I therefore resolved, to begin my first discourse with these reflections, which *Solitude* might borrow from devotion. But, since Orators recommend the last place in our discourse, to the strongest persuasives (as being able when plac'd there to leave the freshest impressions upon the leaving Reader) I shall therefore in this last place, (which is, alas! the too ordinar room allowed to devotion) recommend to you, to consider, that GOD possesses moe excellencies, and we labour under moe sins, then can be fully contemplated, in the one case, or lamented in the other, throughout the whole flux of eternity. And after that we have evacuated our more

Sect. 3. *Motives to solitude from religion.*

more refined spirits, in chase of these fleeing follies, will it satisfie him to to have our dulled thoughts (the lame of the flock) served up upon his holy Altars? And seing he stiles himself a jealouse God: certainly he cannot but be jealous, that because we converse with others more then with him; we must therefore, either love these better or expect more, either advantage or pleasure in their society then in his.

I confess that publick Employment, is lawfull in it self, and necessar to the Common-wealth, and that men may serve God in the intervalls of their other publick negotiations. But the question is not, what is lawfull in it self, but what is convenient for us, and seing we run already, but too slowly that divine race, I see not why we should slow our pace yet more by taking on the burthen of publick employment. And seing all our time is but too short, for the service of him whom far more excellent creatures then

we

we worſhip unceſſantly, time without end: I think it ſtrange, that we ſhould content our ſelves to ſerve him *per parentheſin*, or by intervals.

To theſe I ſhall add this import conſideration, that moſt of temptations, are in *Solitude* diſarm'd of theſe charms, which renders them formidable to us in publick: love wants there the preſence of an enflaming object to ſecond it; revenge wants the preſence of the party injured to preſs it: and vanity when it wants admirers, wants force. Though *Moſes* was the meekeſt man upon the earth, whilſt he lived in the deſert; yet the extravagancy of thoſe whom he governed, when providence had advanced him, made him offend his Maker, ſo highly, that all his former ſervices, could not obtain, even from the Father of mercies, a liberty to enter into an earthly *Canaan*. If *Naaman* had lived an Hermit, he needed not have crav'd the Prophet leave, to bow to the idols of his maſter, in the houſe of *Rimmon*. And if *David*

vid had not been governor of *Israel* he had wanted the means both to humble *Bath-sheba*; and kill *Urriah*, such is the ill fate of publick Employment, that it not only affords us temptations, but the means likewise of effectuating that to which we are tempted.

It was I confess Gods own verdict of man, that it was not good for him to be alone, but this was when because of his congenial innocence, he needed not fear the contamination of society; but to demonstrat what the hazard of being in company is: even *Adam* could not live one day in it, and live innocent, for the first news we hear of him, after that *Eve* was associat to him, is, that he had foreseited that native purity.

I know that our Saviour, was carried by Satan to the wilderness, that he might tempt him there. But it is most observable, that after that experienced enemy, found that his Divinity would not yeild to any thing therein represented, he thereafter (as the last and so

ſo the ſtrongeſt ſhift left to him unessayed, did bring him to *Jeruſalem*; and having advanced him above the temple, he proffer'd him the halfe of the belted world, and all it's glories; a temptation, fitted only for ſuch as value honour and publick Employment.

When GOD Almighty intended to converſe with *Moſes*, He called him from the populous camp, to the top of Mount *Sinai*. And our Saviour did not diſcloſe the glories of his Transfiguration at *Jeruſalem*, but upon the top of the Mount of *Olives*. The Widow who intended a lodging for *Eliſha* that great Prophet, did build it apart upon the wall, furniſhing it only with a Stool and Candleſtick: and when he asked her, if he ſhould ſpeak for her to the King, or Captain of his Hoaſt, ſhe told him, without farther anſwer, *that ſhe dwelt amongſt her own Friends, and in her own Countrey*; intimating thereby, that there was no need of any favour Kings could

2 Kings 4. 10.

2 Kings 4. 12.

could bestow upon such as enjoy'd so happy a recess. I recreat my self to think I see *Elijah* sitting under a juniper Tree, or in a concealed Grove, visited in that *solitude* by the same GOD, who refused His presence to mighty *Ahab*; and to contemplat how *Ahaziah* was able to find no ease upon his purpred couch, till he dispatched in quest of it some of his chiefest Captains to court it from the same Prophet, sitting upon the top of a mountain: By all which places and postures, the Spirit of GOD (who losses no observation) intends doubtless to enamour us of *solitude* and recess. And it is very observable, that none of these old Prophets are found, in Scripture, at Court or in Publick, but as bearded Comets appear in the air, where they have no other errand then to denounce Judgments to the place over which they hover.

GOD Almighty, who because he is the object as well as enjoyner of our devotions, should, and does upon these and many

many other scores, best know how to address them; hath commanded us to retire into our Closets (the most solitary of all our rooms) and to make these yet more retired, hath ordained us to close our doors behind us when we make any religious applications to him; promising, that *he who seeth in secret, will reward us openly*: And if we will consider these gawdy distractions, whereby our publick devotions are almost rendered no devotion at all, and that there is more noise in the world then will suffer us to hear that still voice which cryes behind us, *This is the way, walk ye in it*; certainly we may conclude, from both reason and experience, (as well as out of obedience to divine Commands) that *solitude* is the true forge of the purest devotions. When God did intend to discipline his beloved (though rebellious) *Israel*, he chose first the wilderness of *Sinai*, and then the two Captivities to be his sacred School. And, *Hosea* 2. 14. he tells his own people, that *he will allure*

her

her (meaning the Jewish Church) *and bring her to the wilderness, and speak comfortably unto her.*

Religion hath another quarrel at Advancement, which is, that it devests oftimes it's enjoyers, not only of devotion and of friendship, which is a moral virtue, but even of affection; which is so natural to brutes themselves, that a man is worse then these when he wants it: and not only forgoe they it upon such necessities as might at least excuse, if not justifie, their so doing, but do so likewise to satisfie their humour, a slavery which deserves to be condemned, though it's object were in it self justifiable. No man could have believed, if Scripture had not told it, that *Saul* would, from being an absolute Monarch, descend to so low a baseness, as to cast away his daughter *Michael* meerly that he might destroy her Husband: Or that a Prince of *Midian* would have prostitute his daughter *Cozbi*, to the promiscuous multitudes of the Israelitish camp, of design to tempt them

1 Sam. 18.

Numb. 25.

to

to a ſin: which could not but be attended with his own infamy, as well as their ruine. Was it not for this that *Romulus* cemented the firſt foundation of the Roman walls with the blood of his brother *Remus*? And though *Abel* and *Cain* had the diviſion, of what tempts (I will not ſay) ſatisfies now the ambition of many thouſands to gratifie their expectations; yet, was not ſo ample a partage able to prevent the ſpilling even of a brothers blood, by one whoſe crime was ſo much the greater that it was without preſident, and was to become an example to many thouſands of ſucceeding ages? Many whereof might, and have been thereby not only encouraged to commit afreſh this old ſin, but likewayes to ſeek, in the greatneſs of this offence, excuſes, whereby to leſſen their own barbarity.

But if any call in queſtion the advantages that accrew to devotion by *ſolitude*, let him caſt back his eye upon the primitive Church, wherein the material fabrick was contriv'd dark, and

and situat in the remotest corners and solitary Groves, both by Pagans and Christians; as if that black enamel hightned the lustre of the golden Candlesticks: and upon the infinit swarms of such as became Moncks and Hermits, encourag'd thereto by the homilies and entreaties of the noblest Fathers; of which state the Emperour *Justinian* did, after he had kept that œcumenick Councel, become so enamour'd, that he hath registrat it's noble Elogies in the Frontis-piece of his divine *codex*. Whilst, upon the other hand, the Heathens of old, and now the Mahumetans did, and do teach, that one of the chief torments in their hell shall be, that men will there be cast louse to to these occupations and civil employments which here exercis'd them; esteeming it a torture for illuminat spirits, and such as are defecat from sensuality, to be re-embaraft with such terrestrial affairs as busie us in this our earthly state. Pardon, my Lord, this in-road I have made upon devotion;

and

and learn from it, that *ſolitude* and *devotion* are ſo nearly related, that we can hardly praiſe the one, and not commend the other.

I ſhall hear uſe the authority of great Hero's; who, after the fruition of both, have by much prefer'd *ſolitude*, whereas (which is very ſtrange) there is not a ſingle teſtimony to be had from ſuch as theſe, in favours of publick Employment.

The firſt ſhall be of *Charles* the Great, who, being to die, cry'd out to theſe who ſtood about him; *O! how vain are the thoughts of men? and how wretched are they that aſpire to glory? What hath my Kingdom, or the ſervice of ſo many men gain'd me? Much more happy had I been, if inſtead of a Scepter, I had weilded an hedging Bill; and if of a King I ſhould have made my ſelf a Clown:* Following in this almoſt the very expreſſions of *Alphonſus* his brother: *Suatocopius* King of *Bohemia* and *Moravia*, having loſt a battel againſt the Emperour *Arnold*, did retire him- *Merula* lib. 18.

himself into a wilderness, where, after he had lived a long time with three Hermits, he at his death told them, that there was not any greatness preferable to the tranquillity of that *solitude*. *The safe sleep* (said he) *which we enjoy here, makes the roots savoury, and the waters sweet; whereas the cares of a Kingdom makes all meat and drink taste bitter. That part of my life, which, I have past with you, was true happiness; whereas that which I led upon my royal Throne deserves more the title of death then of life.* And *Giges* King of *Lydia*, puff'd up with his great wealth and many victories, having asked the Oracle of *Apollo*, if there was any man happier in the world then himself, had *Agesilaus* the poor Arcadian sheepheard prefered to him. And *Similis*, one of *Adrian* the Emperours chief Captains, having retir'd to the Countrey, after all his preferments, caused grave this Epitaph upon his own Tomb, *Here lyes* Similis, *of a very great age, who yet lived but seven years.*

I might here cite *Constantine*, that excellent King of *Scotland*; *Theodatus* King of the *Goths*; *Charles* the fifth; *Sertorius*, and hundreds of other Princes, if I thought it not more of advantage to *solitude* to say of these, that they are so many, they cannot be cited.

Seing then reason and experience do impresse us with so pungent dissuasives from greatness, let us a little examine what can be in it, able to preponder to so weighty discouragements. *Sect. 3 Fame examined.*

The first prize contended-for by great persons, is *Fame*, a revenue payable only to our ghosts; and to deny our selves all present satisfaction, or to expose our selves to so much hazard for this, were as great madness as to starve our selves, or fight desperatly for food to be layed on our Tombs after our death. Either publick Ministers value much the discourses of the multitude; and if so, they erre in offending them as oft as their gain or pleasure affords them the meanest temptation, or else they value these not; and if so,

why is there so much pains, taken for *Fame*, which is nothing else but a collection of their suffrages: which reflection recommends much to me, that stolcal jear, given to *Hannibal* by *Juvenal*,

—I demens; & savas curre per Alpes,
Ut pueris placeas, & declamatio fias.

—Climb over the Alps, thou mad, vain-glorious fool,
That thou may'st children please, & be their theme at school.

For convincing us of the folly of this passion, be pleased to consider, that either our souls, have the fame period with our life, and then to talk of us after death, is to talk, of what is not; and what advantage brings it to us, when seing we are not, what is said of us, cannot affect what is not; or our departed souls survive, in eternal bless. And then the loud Halelujahs of myriads of Angels, will easily drown so the voice of *Fame* in our ears, that it will not be heard by us: and our souls will be so replet with infinit joyes, that there will be no room for it's report, though it were exauceable; for *Fame*, being by

air, must yeild and flee out at the acces of any thing, that is more solide, or else the souls of these, who are praised, will be damned: and then they will not be susceptible of any pleasing impressions. And I am confident that one of the torments of damned spirits, is that they imagine all the world to be full of their infamy. And seing the *Fame* of the greatest of men, is not able to solace him in the fit of a feaver, or gravel; Why should we imagine that it can lessen the weight of such pressing torments, as infernal horrour, or eternal damnation? To talk of *Amphialus*, who never was, is the same thing as to talk of *Alexander*: only *Amphialus*, cannot be stained with cruelty, vanity and drunkenness as *Alexander* is: but albeit *Fame* were to be courted, what share of it can we expect, who are scarce known beyond the line of our own History, and but transiently in that likewise? Who amongst us would toil as we do, to be esteemed, as *Popenham* or *Bajard*, (whom I believe very

few have heard of) and yet these acted upon the continent of the world, and did greater things then the present state of affairs will admit us to do. And I am confident, that there liv'd lately at the Court of *France* and *Spain*, hundreds of Courtiers, who injoyed far taller honours then we, and who would not have embraced the honours we grasp after; and yet *Fame* scornes to be at so much pains as once to mention their names. How many know not at present, the name of that grand Visier, who but lately made *Germany* tremble? and to say that it was the grand-Visier, is to praise his Office, and not himself. Who can name the greatest Cardinals at *Rome*, or *Dogi* of *Venice*? And yet, what infinit pains is taken to gain these employments, by such as live upon the place?

I smile to see underling pretenders, and who live in a Country, scarce design'd in the exactests maps, sweat and toil for so unmassie a reputation, that when it is hammered out to the most stretch-

ing

ing dimensions, will not yet reach the neareſt towns of a neighbouring Country: Whereas, examine ſuch as have but lately returned from travelling in moſt flouriſhing Kingdoms, and though curioſity was their greateſt errand, yet ye will find that they ſcarce know who is Chancellour or firſt Preſident in theſe places; and in the exacteſt Hiſtories, we hear but few news of the famouſeſt Pleaders, Divines or Phiſitians; and by Souldiers theſe are under-valued as pedants, and theſe by them as madcaps, and both by Philoſophers as fools.

But though *Fame* were deſirable, yet publick Employment is not always attended by it; for, either advancment is attributed to the fancy of the advancer, or to fate and hazard. And in either of theſe caſes, the perſon promoted is not honoured, but his fate; and it will be loudly proclaimed as a thing moſt ſtrange, that one of ſo mean merit, or ſo rebellious principles, or tainted with any ſuch vice (as envy

will either find or make) should be promoted to such honours: whereas if the same person had satisfied himself with a solitary life, his realt vices had neither been discovered, nor such forged vices proclaimed; and because people blame Minions, whilst they live for what they dare not charge upon their Master, their envy or revenge transmits to posterity, that character which was received to their prejudice, whil'st they yet governed. Was *Perennius* famous, though *Commodus* then Emperour rail'd him next to the throne? or *Oliver* the Barber, though *Lewis* 11. made him his Minion? No, for Princes can bestow greatness, but *Fame* lies no more under their jurisdiction then the winds do, from which it doth but little differ. Of all witnesses *Fame* is the most suspect, because it ordinarily flatters most, these who depended most upon it, and were at greatest toil to gain it's sufferage, and to depone falsly against the greatest of such as value not it's testimony: and as it's

report

report, is by law judged, to be unſtable as water, So in this it reſembles much the water that it preſents (like to it) the ſtraighteſt objects to our ſight, as crooked and uneven. And ſince *Fame* depends upon the credulous multitude, and upon unreſtrainable accidents, who can aſſure himſelf of it's ſuffrage? or believe it when it is obtained? If the Souldiers prove cowardly, and loſe a battle, the General is for ever affronted, and yet he cannot help it: or if a Servant betray a States-mans ſecret, then the Maſters prudence is for ever traduced. Ignominy being like all other black ſpots (a tenaciouſneſs peculiar only to that colour) which cannot be worn off, nor waſht out: And the deſigns of States-men being as latent, as the ſprings which do inwardly move mechanick machins, the people (whoſe intelligence cannot reach theſe) judge of the deſigns by the events: And if at any time the event anſwer the contrivers expectation, then the malicious multitude aſcribe this

ſucceſs, either to hazard, or to their power. And, to ſpeak ſeriouſly, *power* is ſo happy a ſuffragant, that it takes off much of that repute which is due to the contriver: for, who can be foyl'd having ſuch a ſeconde? And to convince us, that power and command conceals what ſtrength and energie there is really in the Governours wit, reflect but a little upon thoſe pitifull rebels, who govern'd lately this Countrey, and did ſeem moſt wiſe, whilſt they were veſted with power: Of which, being now again deveſted, their wit falls far ſhort of the firſt caſt. Like thoſe Venetian Ladies, whoſe native ſtature riſes, and lowes in appearance, according to the height of theſe, *ſoculi* whereupon they walk. But if *Fame* be the great prize, I ſee not why the *Literati* and *Virtuoſi*, or retir'd *Curioſi*, may not put in for as large a ſhare in it, as moſt (if not any) States-man: For, if that maxime hold, that *propter quod unumquodque eſt tale, propter hoc, illud ipſum eſt majus tale,*

tale: certainly it follows in true Logick, that seing solitary persons are the dispensers and bestowers of *Fame* upon great men, they cannot miss it themselves. How had *Æneas* conduct, or *Achilles* valour, been forgot, had not *Homer* or *Virgil* sung their Elogies? And after a great man hath defeated Kingdoms, a pedant is (like the sillie worm) able in one night, to consume that blossoming gourd of his reputation: And seing the world know not what the one did, they will believe what the other said. History (which is the grand-register of *Fame*) is known for the most part only to retir'd persons, and these will admire most what suites most with their own humour: And *Fame* it self being most oblieged to such as study *solitude*, it oblieges ordinarily these most, because they have oblieged it. *Aristotle* hath prov'd himself, by his Syllogisms, a greater person then *Alexander* his famous Schollar; *Solon* is more famous for his moral advice to *Cresus*, then *Cresus*, who

who poſſeſt thoſe mountains of gold, which were the ſubject of his advice: and *Cicero's* tongue, though pull'd out of his head by *Anthony*, hath ſpoke out his praiſes louder, then all the acclamations of the Roman legions and echoing artillerie could proclaim that more then Monarch. And ſeing that man is happieſt, who is happy whil'ſt he is a man, ſuch as attain to *Fame* by *ſolitude*, are happier then great men, becauſe they are happy whil'ſt they are able to find it, whil'ſt the others have it only when they are not ſenſible of what they have. Compare *Julius Ceſar* (to the ſtature of whoſe repute our dwarffiſh endeavours will never be able to riſe) with *Lucan*, who wrote the ſtory of his wars, and ye will find *Lucan* the much happier: Conſider *Ceſar*, macerat oft with hunger, ſtiffned with unrewarded toil, jealous of his own ſouldiers, and apprehenſive of the Senat, tortured with the uncertain events of the war, and terrified by the having kill'd his Son

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in law *Pompey*, after he was sure of the victory. And then return your reflections upon *Lucan*, sitting in the bosome of a shaddowie grove, flanckt with a christal stream, and there treating those noble lines, which have since carried his fame as far as *Cesars* actions; and having in this the advantage of *Cesar*, even as to posterity, that *Cesars* souldiers, *Pompey's* ill fate, the Senats irresolution, and the cowardliness of their Auxiliaries, share with *Cesar* in the event, and really more then he; whereas *Lucan* inherits the sole praise of his story now, as he did the pleasure of having wrote it whil'st he was yet alive. But to conclude the folly of *Fame*, consider even this generous *Lucan*, falling under the sword of *Nero*; because that cruel Prince was ashamed to see himself so far out-done in wit by one of his own Subjects; and from this learn, that *Fame* is suspicious to its dependers, when it bestows it's favours, and injust, when it denyes them.

Next

Sect. 6. *The pleasure of commanding others examin'd.*

Next to this, the satisfaction received in commanding others, is admir'd as one of the ravishing advantages of publick Employment: And the soul of man in this, seems to have retain'd still a false appetite of being like to it's Maker. But seing this design could not be managed even by the judgement and purity of the greatest of Angels, so as not to deserve the severest punishment, and did in them prove also ineffectual; I find that little hopes can be entertained of our succeeding in it. But consider seriously, that it being a congenial humour in all mankind, to desire freedom; certainly great men must conclude, that their dependers would not bow to such homages, if they thought not thereby to obliege their Patrons to the full requitall of what they so highly value: And therefore, these being debts, rather contracted by us then favours done us, I see not why we should so highly prise them; and seing in return to these, protection, salaries

laries and Offices are expected, all which put us to real pains; consider if these imaginary pleasures deserve to be bought at the rate of such real vexations. The *Magnifico* must himself bow to his Prince, bear his extravagancies, swear a friendship with these whom he hates, dispence with affronts, spend all his time in attendance at Court, and in observing these humours, which he must thereafter superstitiously obey; and all this, that he may gain wherewith to repay salutations, flatteries, legs, congies, and such like pittifull pleasures; and that he may screw himself so far into the respect of the people, that he may have hats pull'd off to him, which will be likewayes done (and for the same reason likewayes) to a lifeless chair of State or the meanest fool, if his shoulders be strong enough to bear a tittle, or any other the meanest mark of his Princes favour. And that he may be magnified by his dependers, whom because of their interest none will believe;

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being bribed to depone what they say of him, is not this satisfaction a meer act of fancy? And is it not saifer to translate our fancy to some other object, then to moderat it here? And who can assure himself, that when he hath arrived at that pitch of command which he presently proposes, that this shall terminat his ambition? and is not the French King as much troubled, that he cannot command the Grand-signior, as a french courtier is for being lower then his King? And after that a Chancellor hath rendred his place, by any short possession familiar to him, he then despises what he enjoys, by the same principle which invited him to desire that imployment, when it was yet above his reach. But abstracting from these considerations, what can it advantage any man that another bows to him? It can neither cure Gout nor Gravel: And when he is displeased at any thing else, it is so far from being able to solace him, that that which vexes him most, is, that any person can

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be found who dares displease one who is so great as he: and if he had not been so great, that accident which now grieves him, could not have vexed him: so that in wishing to be great, we wish that we may be made more susceptible of affronts, then nature hath already made us.

I need not tell you, *Celador*, that great men are oblieg'd to attend more submissively their Superiors, then we do them: because these have moe designs then we, and design is the occasion of our dependance. So that if there be any pleasure in liberty, we enjoy it more then these; and if there be none, why is there so much pains taken to be great, upon expectation, that greatness sets at liberty? A private man is not oblieged to oppose his Relations, fight against his Country, give his own Judgement the lye; all which are but the meanest impositions that some Princes lay upon greatness: and why should men purchase, at so dear a rate, the liberty to serve others, which is all that greatness can bestow?

Sect. 7. The satisfaction of society examin'd.

I know that society is one of these satisfactions which we rank amongst the pleasures of the first magnitude; and that as to the possession of this, solitarineſs seems to cede to publick Employments. But when we consider, that the prerogative of society stands not in seeing one another, but in rational conversation, it will appear that the difference is not wide. For, what pleasure can be received by talking of new Fashions, buying and selling of Lands, advancement or ruine of Favourits, victories or defeats of stranger Princes, which is the ordinary subject of ordinary conversation? And really I have admir'd to see persons of virtue and honour long much to be in the City, where when they come, they found nor sought for no other divertisement then to visit one another, and there to do nothing else then to make legs, view others habit, talk of the weather, or some such pitifull subject: and it may be, if they made a farther inroad upon any other affair, they did so pick one

one another, that it afforded them matter of eternal quarrel; for what was at first but an indifferent subject, is by interest adopted into the number of our own quarrels. This begets heats; heats opprobries; opprobries revenge; and revenge leads either to fret, if we cannot satisfie its thirst; or to ruine, if we cannot quench it. How many likewise are in these rencounters, tempted either to betray their ignorance or malice? and if one know not the new name of such a dish or dress, such an intrigue, or such a quarrel or marriage, then they are esteemed block-heads. Most of men desire to frequent their Superiors, and there men must either suffer their raillery, or must not be suffered to continue in their society: If we converse with these who speak with more address then our selves, then we repine equally at our own dulness, and envy the acuteness that accomplishes the speaker; or, if we converse with duller animals then our selves, then we weary

to draw the yoke alone, and fret at our being in ill company: But, if chance blow us in amongst our equals, then we are so at guard to catch all advantages, and so interressed in point d'honneur, that it rather cruciats then recreats us: How many makes themselves cheap by these occasions, whom we had valued highly if they had frequented us less? and how many frequent persons, who laugh at that simplicity which the addresser admires in himself as wit, and yet both recreat themselves with double laughters? It is remarked by Geographers, that no King alive is worship'd by his Subjects but the King of *Binon*, and that he is never seen by them; and certainly, if he were seen, he would not be worship'd. And thus these ancient Hero's were never deifi'd, till death had, by burying themselves, buried the memory of these infirmities, which, though they were but few in some, and mean in others, had notwithstanding enough of allay in them to make the commit-

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ters, not only be conceived no gods, but oft-times to represent them as frail men. *Familiarity is* (in the proverb) *said to breed contempt*; which it does not only by that natural saciety, whereby nothing can become common and continue (to our apprehension) good, but likewise, by laying open to converſers theſe lapſes and failours, which if they deſerve not contempt, do, at leaſt, leſſen that repute which was in others founded for them rather upon *Idea's* which they framed of our perfections, then upon theſe merits which might juſtly challenge them. Familiarity hath likewiſe this prejudice in it, that it blunts thoſe endeavours in us, whereby repute is ordinarily acquired; and in remitting that exactneſs whereby we entertain ſtrangers, we loſe that ſhare of eſteem which exactneſs and politneſs deſerves; theſe extraordinary parad's, made ordinarily to our leſs familiars, being a holy-dayes dreſs in converſation, which though it flatters, ceaſes not therefore to weary

us. Our Saviour does himself, and of himself, say it in holy Scriptures, that *a Prophet hath no honour in his own country*; and the foolish Jews gave him ground to say so, when they concluded that he could not work miracles, because his mother and brethren dwelt amongst them, and because they did know him and his extraction.

But if variety be that which is admired in society, certainly our own thoughts, or other mens Books, can in these far exceed conversation; possessing above it this advantage, that we can never be either importun'd or betray'd by these, as is much to be fear'd from the other. And it is most remarkable, that after *Solomon* hath fixt a *vanity and vexation of spirit* upon all the actings of men, and hath after several times subjoyned it to publick Employment, he only sayes, that *reading is a wearyness to the flesh*, without adding it to be *a vexation of spirit*. But albeit society were to be valued at the rate imagin'd, yet solitary persons injoy more the

the ſweets of ſociety then great men do: for, in all addreſſes to theſe, the addreſſers conſider only what is fit for their private intereſt, and little elſe is added, beſides the dropping of a flattering expreſſion or two: and when any diſ-intereſſed ſubject is fallen upon with them, it is ſpoke to with ſo much conſtraint, and the ſpeakers are ſo hem'd in by diſcretion and reſpect, that the diſcourſe is manag'd with much diſadvantage. And our very duty teacheth us, that to ſpeak learnedly, is pedantry there, and to ſpeak religiouſly is impertinent: So that we muſt either tranſgreſſe our duty, or elſe be mean in our converſation. But, albeit the humour of the Grandee were ſo noble, as to admit of freedom in converſation; yet few ingenuous ſpirits (who are the only beſt companions) can ſpeak freely in publick, or to publick perſons: whereas, the moſt hide-bound Orator can pour his conceptions into his neighbours boſom, in their natural ſet and faſhion, and with as little alteration as a diſcourſe

receives, by being cast off the Press upon paper.

Reflect but upon these many thousand apologies which are carry'd up and down amongst such as converse much together; and which, as they make up the greatest part both of their employment and vexation, So are not incident to any who live solitarly, these being the natural product of conference and rencounters: And ye may conclude, that either these who make such apologies, are as real in making them, as they seem passionat in having them to be believed; and then, conversation may appear to be most dangerous, seing these prove, that men may easily mistake, and are so easily mistaken by such as daily frequent them, as yet to need so solemn and so numerous apologies; or else these are but feing'd, and then they prove conversation to be yet more dangerous, seeing, as men are subject to mistake and be mistaken, so our own real apologies for

for those mistakes will not be believed, because of the frequency of other counterfeits; nor can we, for the same reason, discern whether such as are made to us be real or not: what was the subject of this dayes conference, will be the subject of an accusation to morrow; and that secret, which we thought we did but lately depositate in our friends breasts, will shortly fly in our faces from the mouth of our enemies: But though our friend were real and secret, yet his inconstancy may make these either no virtues at all, or ineffectual and unprofitable ones; a quality now so ordinary, that I take pleasure to see both my self and others mistake the several interests which they knew intimatly a year ago, cabals and intrigues moulding themselves almost every month in different shapes, according to the humours or interests of the parties concern'd: And so pestilential is the malignity of conversation, that even Ladies fail here, and this piece of frailty they are suffer'd

to cary about them to keep them from being ador'd,, becauſe of their other amiable qualities: For, if their converſe were not dangerous, becauſe that any error is there a crime, and no affront can there be reveng'd; certainly there ſhould no place elſe be frequented. Conſider, I pray you, how diſcourſes are laught at, though never ſo witty, if three or four combine to repreſent them as ridiculous; how a ſlip, either in the choice or accent of a word, becomes irreparable, by being incurr'd in a ſociety where nothing is deſign'd but cenſure, and when any proves happy in that trade of jybing, they muſt be gauding abroad (ſo tempting is this folly) though ſure to meet in theſe journeys the repute of *ſlight* or *diſhoneſt*; and that Jearer, who at the beginni g was eſteem'd a wit, is, by continuing his trade (yea though he improve in it) undervalued as a Buffoon.

It was nobly obſervedby *Marcus Antonius*, that great Emperour and Philoſopher,

losopher, that a Weaver or Cobler, would willingly sequestrat themselves from all society, that they might prosecute their several trades; and yet man cannot retire himself, that he may admire the creation, and exercise his own soul, which is the great trade of a rational Creature, and of a true Philosopher. And since gain can prevail with all so far, as to make them renounce society, and esteem company an idle folly; certainly, if we would reflect upon the great advantages of *solitude*, both as to morality and devotion, it were an easie matter to prefer it to those which are in themselves but trifles, if not burthens.

Sect 8. Thus solitude is more pleasing then publick Employment.

I have these three Arguments to perswade me, that *solitude*, Contemplation, or a Countrey-life, have more of pleasure in them then publick Employment. The first is, that pleasure, being in men, an act of the fancy, and consequently of the soul; certainly these pleasures, which do more immediatly affect the soul, must needs be the most

most active pleasures; and such are these which arise from contemplation: whereas sensual pleasures, and such as arise from exterior objects, do arrive but consequentially at that immaterial agent, and so they do move it with far less vigour. A second is, that Contemplation does often drive our souls into extasies, and is so charming, that it may be rather said to ravish then please, committing so open a rapture upon our souls, that it pulls them almost into a state of separation: Thus those old Hermits are the members of the ancient Church, who are oftest remark't to have become thus nobely sensless, being as far transported out of themselves, as they had transported themselves formerly out of the world, and lying whole weeks under that spiritual amazement, and drunk, as it were, with those streams of consolations which flow from those blessed Cisterns, the open wounds of our glorious Saviour. And amongst the Heathens, did not *Pithagoras* almost

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distract with the satisfaction conceiv'd in finding that noble and famous demonstration mention'd in the second Book of *Euclide*? Was not *Pliny* so ravisht with the pleasure of contemplating the rarities of the hill *Vesuvius*, as, for further enquiry to approach so near, that he lost himself in its flames? And was not *Archimedes* so much pleas'd with his demonstration upon the sands of *Siracuse*, that he would not lose so much time from it as wherein he might beg his life from the rude conquerours: Whereas, besides what comes from fear or revenge, we read nor hear of no such mighty passion in any of these who live in the fruition of publick Employments, or sophisticat satisfactions. The third Argument is, that we find the satisfaction resulting from honour and ambition, to ced to very mean pleasures, and to such as have nothing of satisfying in them, besides what they owe to the corruption of our senses, and to be such as do themselves yield easily to this

energetick

energetick pleasure of contemplation.

Is not a Gallant, and even a Statesman, who is in love with a Mistris, and sometimes with a whore, or hath an unquenchable thirst for wine or companionrie, willing to prefer the satisfaction of these passions to all advancement, or the pleasures which he can receive by them? And this evidences, that this desire to govern, is, of it's own nature, none of the strongest; at least that our fancy may have other objects less dangerous, and equally pleasing, whereupon to dote. And a Pedant, reading *Pompey*'s actions in good Latine, is as much enchanted with it, at least with the having written handsomely his Epitaph, as *Pompey* could have been himself in the fruition of all his glories, and the most spreading ruff of his pride. And a Countrey Gentleman is as much taken with a happy chase, or a Clown with a mean hire, as the happiest Favourit can be with the purchase of the highest office, which the fear to lose, or new pretences,

tences, and much anxious attendance, doth leſſen much to him: But if theſe conceſſions of gain or honour occaſion raptures in the receivers, that joy brings more tickling with it, then is fit for the ſpirit of man to receive; and occaſions want of ſleep, diſcompoſure in diſcourſe, and all theſe other extravagancies which proceed from grief at other times: Whereas, *Solitude* gives no other pleaſures then what is fit for our recreation, or ſutable to our reaſon and ſtoicall indifferency; ſo that ſeing every ſtate hath pleaſant objects provided for the enjoyers fancy, that ſtate muſt be moſt preferable which fancies objects the leaſt dangerous, and ſuch is *Solitude*, but ſuch is not publick Employment.

I think the ancient Philoſophers put but a mean complement upon man, when they call'd him *a little world:* for certainly, his vaſt ſoul hath in it nobler *idea's* of all that is created, then the finitneſs of matter will allow to the Creation it ſelf; whoſe ſpirit is ſo narrow, but it can in one thought repreſent

ſent larger Sphears, a more vaſt Globe, and more boundleſs Seas, then all theſe which were brought from the boſom of the firſt *Chaos*. And after infinit expence hath impoveriſhed a building Princé, the meaneſt Peaſant can in his fancy add exceedingly to it's bulkiſhneſs; and which is more, that faculty can mould *idea's* of thouſands of ſpecies never yet created, that can bring forth moe monſters then *Africk*, and can produce moe novelties then *America*: and as we cannot but admire theſe productions, for their variety; So we cannot but love them, becauſe they are our own. And thus, ſeing there can be no pleaſure in that variety which is to be decerned in the world, but what our fancy takes, (for, what elſe is there in beholding real Caſtles, Navies, Courts or Cities, but a divertiſing of our fancies? for nature needs none of thoſe) certainly, retirement hath in this the ſtart of it's rival: for there, fancy is at fuller freedom, and roaves with leſs contraction then when it is limited by the

the narrowneſs of the ſenſes, through which wickets, certainly nothing can enter which is anguſt or ample. In publick we ſee the ſame men moſt ordinarily ſtill act the ſame things, and we our ſelves are ſo much buſied with our intereſt, that we regard little even the ſmall variety which is diſcoverable in them. And certainly, it is a great diſparagement to the Creation to think, that there is not variety enough there, to buſie our meditation; or that there is leſs there then in a City or Court: It is true that we'll ſee there variety of Hangings, Cabinets, and ſuch like toys; but if we would view the various faces of the sky but one day, we would perceive more of variety in thoſe, more of excellent colours and various motions, then in ten thouſand ſuch trifles as theſe. Conſider but the beauty of one tulip, and it's ſeveral freckles; the motion of one Bird, and it's ſeveral wheelings; the ſhapes of ſeveral worms, and their different crawlings; and ye will find task enough, and more.

variety

variety there, then a City can afford, wherein they may represent you a painted Rose, but not it's smell; the shape of a Foule, but not it's motion: And yet men there dot upon that one quality of shape in pictures, more then upon ten thousand reall species in the *complex* of all their excellent qualities, which if ye call fineness, I see no reason why ye may not call madness virtue. It is not then want of variety in nature, but want of observation in us, which occasions this errour, and he understood all things infinitly better then we, who said, *that* Solomon *in all his glory was not like one Lily of the field.* It's reported of a great Philosopher, that for fifty years he employed himself in the observation of Bees, and all that time found both new task and pleasure; and never any could say that he had observed fully all that was to be observed in floures, Anatomy, Astrology, or any of these Sciences, amongst which the least copius in measuring lengths hath advantage

tage of our lives; and yet we complain, that retirement (where theſe are only to be found) hath not employment or divertiſement enough for us.

But if theſe ſuffice not, my dear *Celador*, enter into your own breaſt, and there ſurvey the ſeveral operations of your own ſoul, the progreſs of your paſſions, the ſtruglings of your appetite, the wandrings of your fancy; and ye will find, I aſſure you, more variety in that one piece, then there is to be learned in all the Courts of *Chriſtendome*. Repreſent to your ſelf the laſt age, all the actions and intereſts in it, how much this perſon was infatuat with zeal, that perſon with luſt; how much one purſued honour, and another riches; and in the next thought, draw that Scene, and repreſent them all turn'd to duſt and aſhes.

The world is a Comedy, where every man acts that part which providence hath aſſigned him; and as it is eſteemed more noble to look on then to act, So really, I know no ſecurer box, from

which to behold it, then a safe *solitude*, and it is easier to feel then to express the pleasure which may be taken in standing aloof, and in contemplating the reelings of the multitude, the excentrick motions of great men, and how fate recreats it self in their ruine, as if it fed them with success, as the Romans fed their Gladiators, who serv'd for nothing else but in beating one another, to recreat the disinteressed beholders. Consider how some are cartelling for not drinking of a glass, others fretting at the promotion of their equals; one vext that he was not safely delivered of his prepared harrangue; another scanning every syllable of his frowning Mistris letter: And even these humours again laugh't at by some; and that laughter weept at by others of these *Virtuosi*'s, who pretend to a Dictatorship in moral philosophy.

Hera-clitus. Demo-critus. Sect. 9. Soli-tude enriches more then publick Employ-ment.

Some admire publick Employment, and prefer it to *solitude*, because the one gains (whilst the other wastes) an opulent

opulent fortune: But these should consider, that as these Merchant-venturers would eminently deserve to be esteemed mad, who would hazard their Stock in a voyage, where certainly ten of a thousand bottoms will not return unshipwrack't; So pretenders to advancement must be mad, seing scarce ten of a thousand prove successfull in the design, so few are the preferments which can enrich, and so many the hazards in reaching them; and which is worse, of these ten which are prefer'd, scarce four will be found, who do not prove so unhappily long-liv'd, as not to survive their conquests and honours; and having got a glimpse only of happiness, *En passant*, do become so much the more miserable, that they have been once happy. And as to these with whom greatness is pleas'd to continue, do they not oft-times, by raising themselves as high as their fancy, raise themselves too high for their estates, and the one by swelling make the other to burst? How few Grandees are not forc'd to

eek up their ſpendings with contracted debts after their own revenues are waſted? whereas ſuch as live privatly, and in a Countrey-life, tranſmit to their poſterity the remainders of that yearly rent which reſts after all neceſſities are defray'd: So that the Countrey-man muſt be rich, ſeing his neceſſities overcome not his fortune; and publick perſons muſt be reputed poor, ſeing they have not ſufficiency for their maintenance. Is not a little man as well cloath'd in his four yards of cloath, as a taler is in ſix? And are not the Princes of *Italy* eſteem'd but petty Princes, becauſe in deſiring to be ſuch, they have made theſe fortunes which might have made them rich Subjects, too ſmall for the ſupport of ſo weighty titles, as that of Soveraign? But admit that theſe enjoyments continued for the enjoyers life-time; yet GOD ordinarily takes from the length of the duration what theſe added to the breadth of their conqueſts: As a too haſty concoction deſtroyes the body;

So

So a too ſoon conqueſt eſtate deſtroyes the conqueſt: and what like *Jonah*'s Gourd flouriſhes in one night, loſes the next theſe bloſſoms wherewith it was adorn'd. *Haſten not to be rich*, was the counſel of a great Moraliſt, as well as Divine, and GOD Almighty gave us no other task, then to *gain our bread*, and that *with the ſweat of our brow*: So that in deſiring great and ſuddain eſtates, we are peccant both as to the matter, and manner of our acquiſition: And what can we propoſe reaſonably to our ſelves in thus doing? for little can defend us againſt our preſent neceſſities, and nothing can defend againſt the future. And when theſe riches are pyl'd up, they ſerve either to ſatisfie nature, and that is eaſie; or to ſatisfie fancy, and that is impoſſible. When a publick Miniſter hath gain'd, by either toil, oppreſſion, or a long courted favour, a great ſum, he poſſibly makes a great entertainment, or buy's a great Jewel, with that or the equivalent, and

either ſurfets in the one, or vexes himſelf in loſing the other, and albeit he do not, what pleaſure is there in either of theſe, but the ſerving of our fancy, after the ſame manner that children do, when we laugh at them for hugging toyes and bables? Moſt men are as much troubled in the ſpending of what they gain, as in gaining it, and thus one trouble creates another by an alternat ſucceſſion. All we gain (ſaith *Solomon*) is either for food or rayment (pomp and ſuperfluity being no deſign allow'd by nature) and much or fine of either of theſe, ſerve not to defend againſt either cold or hunger: And ſo ſeing the Peaſant or ſolitary Philoſopher, attains ſooner to the true end of riches by his ſobriety, then the other by his abundance, certainly he muſt be the richer, and that is moſt excellent which attains ſooneſt to the end for which it was deſtinat: If ſuch want money to give Lawers or Phyſicians, they alſo want employment for theſe, and without employment no man deſires money: So

So that riches are really (though they remain) but like the *manna*, whereof *he who gathered little had abundance; and he who gathered too much, had nothing over*: And if riches remain not but *take the wings of the morning, and flee away*, as oft they do, then consider that publick Persons are most subject to these alterations; for forfeiturs, alterations of Government, or favour, intestine wars, luxurie, gain, popular fury, or an heir confiding in his fathers prosperity, or educat amidst many spending wanters, and such other dissolute persons as frequent publick places, will sooner drive to that necessity, which men should only fear, then moderation or retirement can do: And when great men are impoverish't by these accidents, they are asham'd, because of their former state, and incapable by want of suitable breeding to repair their losses, or satisfie their necessities by pains or frugality, as privat men can; and which is worse then all this, their former pros- Exod. 16. 18

perity makes want far more unsupportable to such, then to the other, to whom the greatest hardships have been rendered familiar.

Sect. 10. *The satisfaction of lust considered.*

As to such who think, that publick Employment and Command will afford them convenience to satisfie their lust, I can say nothing, but that it's better to live in a sober *solitude*, wherein men may so tame their lusts, that they need not satisfie them: There is no pleasure in eating but to such as are hungry; and certainly, it were for our advantage, rather that we could live without being hungry, then even to have as much as might satisfie hunger when it comes: High feeding, and want of better employment, begets this; and what impairs these extinguishes it: Whereas, I am confident, such as are servilly subject to it, suffer more anxiety in the purchasing of that conveniency, then private men can do by the want of bread: For they will for that purchase disobliege friends, cheat their intimats, prove ungrate to their

their ſweet bed-fellows, ſuffer themſelves to be talked of, and run a thouſand other hazards, which they would not encounter for ſtaving off the greateſt of theſe neceſſities under which mean men ſuffer; and when this is gain'd, what brings it, but ſickneſs, jealouſies, horrours in conſcience, and reproach amongſt men?

Sect. 11. *The recreations of both compared.*

When I compare *ſolitude* with publick Employment, as to their recreations, I find, that the one follows only ſuch as becauſe nature hath invented, it doth therefore ſweeten, and ſuch as have no danger in them, beſides that of being too much charming; as hunting, hawking, angling, and the like, wherein we have occaſion to learn, as well as to praiſe, the workmanſhip of our mighty Maker: And in the other, ſuch divertiſements are moſt familiar, as if they have not been invented to gain money, or feed luſt, yet are not really recreations, if they look not towards theſe ends; and which are attended by ſo much toil, fretting, ſweating,

sweating, swearing, lying, cheating, and other vices, that their great pleasures are the worst of torments except their tragick periods; of which nature, are cards, dice, tennis, danceing, drinking, feasting and whooring, which do oftner divert men from being real Christians, then divertise those who are really such. If great men enjoy not recreations, they become unfit for employment, and employment becomes a burden to them; and if they sequestrat the meanest portion of time for privat recreations, they are curst by those thousands, whom multitude of affairs, rather then lazines, hath defer'd, and who are so unreasonable as only to consider that they are put off, but not to consider wherefore.

Sect. 12. *Both compared as to their food and rayment*

Though food and rayment are no constituents, yet they are too often lookt upon as considerable appanages of our more material happines; and these used by great men, though they cannot make the enjoyer happy, yet serve to make the by-standers conclude

clude themselves unhappy in the want of them: And therefore I shall make these few reflections upon both, whereby it will appear, that as to these, the meanest men are more happy then the greatest Monarch.

As to Raiment, certainly, that used by private men, is most noble, most easie, and attended by fewest inconveniences: Most noble, because in these great men follow the mode, but mean men make their own mode, and so the one, as to that, is a Subject, and the other a Soveraign: Great men are servants not only to the fashion, but to such cloaths as are in it; they must abstain from every thing which may soil or disorder them, and must employ much of that time and life, which is the only thing they pray for, and which they buy with much torture and money from Physicians, meerly in adjusting them every morning, and though it should prejudge their health or estate, they must have these fashionable and rich. How many shifts will

be

be used, and other pleasures abandoned, that money may be got to give for these; whereas a solitary person wears such as are convenient for his health, and may be subservient to any employment; and that his are more easie, appears from this, that great men, when they resolve to take their ease, lay aside their robes, which serv'd for nothing else, but make themselves sweat, and others gaze: Jewels and Embroideries may make cloaths, by being stiff, useless and insupportable, but neither are necessary to cover our nakedness; or entertain our natural heat. And wen the fashion changes, these rich sutes serve only either to make the owner ridiculous, if he wear them, or to make him fret and grumble when he must lay them aside; and though they continue fashionable, yet if another out-strip us in a more sumptuous suit or retinue, then we repine, and by missing our design of being more gallant then others, we likewise miss our happiness; which, because it was

not

not plac'd upon ſomething which was in our own power, it is therefore in the power of every other man to take from us.

As to Food, that which is uſ'd by mean men is both more natural and more pleaſant: more natural, becauſe it is prepar'd with leſs toil, and being cook'd by nature it ſelf, ſerves nature more adequatly, as to all intents and purpoſes; it neither entices men to eat till they be unable for their affairs, nor brings it ſickneſs; it affords ſtrength, and prolongs life; whereas, when publick Employment brings riches, and theſe have hir'd cooks, all they can do, is to cheat the ſtomach into an oppreſſion, and by fumes ſent from thence, chaſe away fine thoughts out of our heads to make room for vapours. Solitary perſons dine when they pleaſe, but great men when it ſuits with their buſineſs; and as they are more ſubject to invitations, to feaſts and entertainments; So they muſt there ſit longer, and eat more then nature

nature requires, and they must either diſoblige their Hoſte, or kill themſelves. I know many, who in place of complementing ſuch as they invite, make them envy them; and many who are vext when they hear of another who lives at a nobler rate then themſelves, and who pillage the poor, that they may entertain the rich; That the Food of private men is more pleaſant, ariſes from this, that the ſtomach hath, by its fumes, depraved the taſte, ſo that nothing can reliſh; or cuſtome hath render'd the fineſt delicacies ſo ordinary, that nothing can appear pleaſant; a Peaſant by faſting longer, or working more laboriouſly then at other times, can thereby heighten the reliſh of his diſh beyond all the art in the Emperours kitchen, or Apothecaries ſhop. And I have heard of a Merchants wife, who being much ſubject to diſeaſes whil'ſt her husbands trade flouriſh'd, did live very long, and very healthfully, after he was broke. And when rich perſons fall ſick,

ſick, who knows but their Phyſician may contribute to make the diſeaſe continue long, or the apparent air to make it end ſuddainly: And when the Phyſician is honeſt, does he not forbid the uſe of all theſe delicacies, whereof greatneſs boaſts of as an advantage?

The greateſt pretext uſed to excuſe this zeal, after publick Employment, is, that the Countrey muſt be ſerved, and man is not made for himſelf: To which my anſwer is, that this makes employment the object of our duty, not of our paſſion, and infers it as a neceſſity, not as a choice, which is all that is contended for: Who is ſo abſurd as to deny his Countrey that ſervice, which is really but the return of it's protection? Or, who will be ſo mad as not to contribute either ſkill or agility in ſaving that Ship from ſinking, wherein himſelf ſails? And this makes me conclude ſuch as rebell againſt their Governors, to be as mad as theſe are, who pull down their own houſes, which defends them oft

Sect. 3. Object. That the Countrey muſt be ſerv'd.

againſt

againſt the circumambient and bluſtering ſtorms; and gives me a veneration for the perſons of ſuch as are my Superiours, to whom nothing ſaid here, that is diſadvantagious, ſhould be applied. But if the ſerving of our Countrey be that impulſe, which only acts us on to undertake employments, this ſame deſign ſhould make us wait till we be called for by our Countrey: do not pretenders to employment, in deſiring each to enter firſt, obſtruct all entry to employments? As we ſee, in entring at publick places, where the preſſing of all hinders the entry of all; do we not upon this account oft remark, that offices are kept vacand by Princes, becauſe of the multitude of rivals who compet for preference, and ſo by their haſt to enter, prejudge the Countrey more, then by their entry they can aſſiſt it: Whereas, if it were for the publick good that we undertook theſe employments, all would wait till their rational reluctancy were vanquiſht, with either the importunities

nities of their Prince, or conveniency of their Countrey: And when that design for which they were called, were satisfi'd or driven to it's design'd period, they would willingly solace themselves again, by their retreat to these Countrey-employments, from which they were at first rather driven, then brought. And certainly, if the publick interest were that which only did invite men to appear in publick, they would not repine at their being laid aside, nor force an entry through the very sides of their Countrey, making a breach in its ramparts, because they cannot enter at it's gates, as too many pretenders daily do.

Should not such as the State have thought fit to remove from employment, consider, that others have an equal title by nature, to advancement with them; and that, as if their predecessors in these offices had not been remov'd, they had not been advanc'd? So either it was injustice to remove these, or else it

Sect. 14 *It is just that there should be changes in favour.*

is no injustice to remove them; and they should rather prove grateful for having enjoy'd these honours so long, then ingrate in repining, that they retain'd them not still, which were as unnatural as if the Sun should constantly dwell in one of his twelve houses (making that the only Summer-house in heaven) and should not, by successive withdrawings and returns, magnifie his presence by his absence, and by that constant change be so just, as not to gratifie all, that he may please a few. If these, who are in offices, were not subject to alterations, they would presume too much, and such as wanted them would certainly dispair; whereas, now the fear of being degraded, makes such as are in employment virtuous and compassionat, fearing least their practice become their dittey; and the hope of advancement makes such as yet have not attain'd to it, walk so as may deserve applause, and so as they may shun reproach: If such alterations were not incident to great men,

they

they would oft want occasion and time to repent of those sins which they committed in publick, either by inadvertence, having their thoughts distracted with many things; or by extravagancie, having their thoughts raisd above their just level. And if there were not such alterations, great men should neither have time to admire GODS many wonders, nor to review his many mercies, and it should be unknown whether Greatness or *solitude* were the most Christian state.

Many noble spirits have been frighted from *solitude*, as conceiving it to be a state wherein the soul contracts a rust, which cankers it's own substance and makes it unpleasant to others, and that it begets men the name of a Countrey-clown, and unfashions him as to the world. But these should consider, that seing the finitness of our souls allows not a compleat accomplishment, it is our wisdom to fill our narrow rooms with the most necessar provisions, and these are, *the knowledge of* Sect. 15 Solitude *lessens not our vivacity of spirit.*

God, and his works; from which will result that tranquility of spirit which is peculiar to Philosophy, and is the guest of *solitude*: So that when in exchange of complement, courtship, knacks, reparties, and such other appanages of conversation, we become pious, learned and moral Philosophers; I think us losers in no other sense, then a tree is, when it's gaudy flourish ripens into such fruit as can both please the relish, and feed the body. It may be, a Philosopher may forget by his solitude whether to give a Lady his right or left hand; but if in his solitude he hath learn'd to know what is right or wrong in her or his own actions, I think she should esteem him so much the more, and he is by much the more happier. And if the world conclude him improven, who in learning how to order an Army, hath forgot how to order a ball; I see not why they should account him an Apostate in breeding, who is so intent upon the contemplation of a Deity and it's productions,

ductions, as not to care to adore these mortal goddesses, except for whom the pressers of this objection have little or no devotion, being rather devoted servants to these, then devout servants to the Almighty: and how can that soul rust which is in continual exercise, as these of Philosophers are? And this is more to be feared in such, as by living in publick are still busied, and yet idle: for, may not we be busie in soliciting for unnecessary favours to others, in receiving and paying visits, in driving on unnecessary factions, and yet our souls contract a rust, whose cancker may make it at last moulder away to nothing? For, what share can our souls take in such actions, wherein it hath no other concernment then such as a man hath in the motions of his enemies?

Let us then admire *solitude* (noble *Celador*) seing to it religious persons flee when they would seek GODS face; sick men when they would seek health: here States-men find their plots, learn'd men their knowledge,

Poets their ſublime fancies. In *ſolitude*, neſtle the greateſt of Saints; in publick, range the greateſt of Sinners, to the one we owe the beſt of inventions, to the other the worſt of cheats.

Having thus raiſ'd this pitifull ſtructure to i'ts Cape-ſtone, I reſolve to furniſh it with theſe two Landskips; the one of *ſolitude*, the other of Greatneſs.

Sect. 16 *The Landskip of ſolitude*

When I come to repreſent *ſolitude*, I muſt confeſs that it's advantages are ſo great, as that if any thing can ſurpaſs them, it muſt be the eſteem I have of them. And for contriving it's Landskip, I repreſent to my ſelf *Quintus Matius poſthumius*, that noble Roman, who having been brought from his plough to govern that great City, did after he had conquer'd it's enemies, return to his former employment; and being ready to leave them, call'd for a ballance, and by putting the *faſces* (or marks of Authority) in one ſcale, and his plough in the other, did let them

them see, that these Imperial Ensigns were the far lighter. Not far from him, I represent *Timon* the noble Athenian, and *Gerson* Chancellour of *France*, who starv'd after they had spent their estates in complement and liberality; exclaiming against all publick persons as perfidious, and friends (as they found) to a mans fortune, but not to himself. Here *Diogenes* undervalues so far all *Alexanders* presents, as to prefer one sight of the Sun to all that he could command, who commanded all that the Sun shin'd upon: and there *Fiacre*, that illustrious Scot, refuses to return from his Hermitage to receive the Crown of his Ancestors. Here lurks St. *Jerom*, laughing in the midst of his own torments at the follies of the world: and there the great *Constantine* bewails with tears the want of *solitude*; and the multitude of these distractions, which though they did not extinguish, yet did disturb his devotions. Below these stands a Countrey-gentleman, admiring the

folly of a *Venetian* Embassador, for being vext to death, because he was at a festival plac'd upon a stool, and not upon a chair; and smiling to see a *Russian* Embassador, who could not step (though very sound) till he was led by two attendants; and to hear of the Emperour and Turks Embassadours, who at their last meeting, behov'd like two Pendula's Clocks, either to set their paces equally, or else not to be reputed just. Represent to your self rich Valleys, where the liberal soyl needs neither be bryb'd by yearly accessions, nor courted with nice attendance, nor torn by instruments (as in City-gardens) before it will bestow any thing upon it's Masters; but without keeping close doors (as these do) keeps an open house to all passengers for herbs and floures of all tastes and liveries. Here the Nightingale is constrain'd to stay without any other cage, then that of the native pleasures of the place; and here the Sun looks from morning to night with a pleasing countenance

countenance, upon the off-ſpring of his own beams, neither clouded with ſmoak, nor intercepted by angles of falling houſes; and theſe, in effect, differ from Gardens, but as Proſe from Meeter, where the materials are oftimes richer, though the contrivance be not ſo artificial. Here the levelling, though aſpiring, trees, lay their heads together, to protect ſuch as ſeek ſhelter under their well-cloath'd branches: and the Criſtal-ſtreams run ſlowly and turn many windings, as if by that and their quiet murmurings, they would expreſs an unwillingneſs to leave ſo pleaſant a field; and in token of their thankfulneſs, do in a generous manner (becauſe without ſhewing how) enrich freely the neighbouring Lands, and draws to their Maſter his picture in one inſtant, without putting him to the pains of frequent or long ſitting, beyond all the skill of *Vandyck* or *Angelo*; entertaining likewiſe for him whole plantations of fiſhes, which may afford him both aliment and recreations beyond

yond all that the City can boast, where water never comes, but empty, and as a prisoner, and like all other things and persons corrupts, if it but stay a while there. Here old age crowns, with innocence's livery, these who have innocently improven their youth; and youth bestows strength, because it knows that the strength it bestows is not to be revel'd away in whooring and banqueting. Here Ladies scorn, and need not submit their native colours to fairding, and in their blushing at the sins and impudence of City-gallants, shew a scarlet far exceeding the noblest Lillies, though *Solomon* and all the glory of his Court was not to be compar'd to one of these. Here Complements (which, like cob-webs, are but the artificial texture of pitifull stuff, woven by poisonous spiders) are look'd upon as unnecessar and dangerous; unnecessar, because there goes much of time and pains to their contrivance, yet do they not perswade such as they are addrest to, to believe them so well as

Countrey-

Countrey-ingenuity does it's inhabitants: and dangerous, becauſe they are ordinarily but handſom diſguiſes for ſuch cheating inclinations as are ſent abroad to betray the party concern'd. Here Lovers are not like priſoners, coupled together with chains of mettal, nor joyn'd, like Princes, in a league for civil intereſt. Jealouſie, that moral feaver which tortures ſo the ſoul of man, as that GOD was content to ordain a miracle for ſatisfying his doubts, finds no employment here: for virtue entertains theſe matches which it ſelf hath made, and lengthens out their productions to many moe ages, then are able to conſume thouſands of publick families. And (to diſpatch) here, Nature, the eldeſt daughter of Providence, governs as Queen-regent, and receives ſo abſolute a difference to all her laws, that man may be here thought to be reſtor'd to that primitive innocence, which he formerly forfeited by his courtſhip.

For

Sect. 17 The Land-skip of Greatness.

For framing the Land-skip of Greatness, represent to your self *Alexander* running like a mad man up and down the world, and killing every man who would not call him master (for certainly, we would call any man mad, who would behave so in our streets, and yet they might as justly do the one as he the other) and all this to gain as much as might make him a person worthy of being poyson'd; and esteeming all his greatness so meanly, as to prefer to it's enjoyment the embraces of a whore, who would have prostitute her self to the meanest of his attenders. Here lies *Tiberius* toiling more for the title of Emperour, then a Porter would do for bread, and yet preferring to all that Roman pomp (after he knew what it was) the pleasure of seeing a naked Strumpet, then which no man is so mean, as not to enjoy many greater pleasures. There stands *Hannibal*, as a *Switz*, guarding the King of *Bithinia*; here Chancellor *Bacon* stands at liberty, and there the Duke *d'Al-*

starv

ſtarv'd in priſon; in this bed lyes a jealous Courtier, tortured with anothers growing, not only greater, but even equal with him; and in another lyes one loaded with wounds, received for his Countrey or Prince, but not regarded by them: not far from theſe lyes *Anthony* ſtobbing himſelf, and *Ceſar* ſtob'd by the Senate. In another corner, ye may perceive a rich heir ſelling that rich Suit to a frippery, wherein he had but lately ſpent a great Fortune at Court; and another deſpairing under theſe wounds which he did receive, for challenging one who took the wall of him. Here ye may ſee the head of a Nobleman, who to be reveng'd of his Prince for complementing another, was content to hazard the happineſs both of Prince and Countrey, in a rebellion which at laſt could not but ruine himſelf and his family; and there ye may ſee the quarters of another, who after he had gain'd much more honour then he at firſt deſign'd, yet was ſo deſirous to have more, as that to ſatisfie that deſired

fired super-addition, he would hazard what he was already possessed of in jeopardies, which any man not blinded by ambition, might have seen to be fatal. In a third corner, lyes heaps of such as *Somerset*, Marquess *D' Ancre*, Duke *Murdock*, Cardinal *Wolsey* and others, whom nothing but their affronts have made famous, albeit they were the greatest Ministers and Minions of their age.

In a fourth corner are represented many great men, who having left a pleasant Country to come to a City, covered with smoak and infected with stink, are there vext to get money to entertain their Ladies in that luxury and fineness, whereof the one tempts them, and the other tempts others to entertain these amours which are dangerous, and may prove fatal; and who have likewise quit their own families, wherein all these respects were pay'd them, that they are glad to have occasion to pay at that Court, for which they exchang'd their former residence; and who, by the diseases occasion'd by want

want of that free air which they have left, are rendred unable to reliſh all the other pleaſures which they expected to enjoy in the City. And if after all this, ye will not conclude a ſolitary Life to be more noble then publick Employment, yet at leaſt ye will, with ſeraphick Mr. *Boyl*, confeſs, that there is ſuch a kind of difference betwixt virtue ſhaded by a private, and ſhining in a publick life, as there is betwixt a a candle carryed aloft in the open air, and incloſed in a lantern; in the former of which ſituations it gives more light, but in the latter it is in leſs danger to be blown out.

I ſhall (*Celador*) in this laſt place, cloſe this Diſcourſe with the laſt advantage of *ſolitude*; which is, that by abſtracting its favourits from being rivals to great men, and from being ſharers with covetous men, it conciliats to them that applauſe, which as it was due to their merit, ſo was obſtructed by theſe and the like incentives.

——*Defunctus*

——*Defunctus amabitur idem* hath been the fate of many who were persecuted whilst they were alive; and death and *solitude* have this in common, that they suffer enemies and obliege friends, to express their former esteems: *fame* resembling in this a shot, where the ball is fled, before the report arrive at our ears.

But I have spent so much of the age of this night, in ending this Letter, that it now begins to grow gray; and the dapling twilight brings as much light as to let me see, that I have been rather zealous, then manerly, in shewing you how much I am,

Dear Celador,

Your most humble Servant, and sincere Well-wisher.

FINIS.